5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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Mountain Orokaiva

423 ground, and with harvesting, which he may not do. Upon marriage, the new wife
241 is usually expected to garden on her husband's land. There is a fiction that, at the time of marriage, she 'does not know' the work she is expected to do on the
[581] land of her new affines. Her mother-in-law has to instruct her and it is only after
[585] such an apprenticeship that her husband's people consider her competent to tend taro on their land, harvest it and offer it to visitors in proper style. She would usually have been trained in these tasks by the women of her own clan, but the subtleties of family traditions differ.

423 As against these male and female obligations, we may note some clearcut
593 rights: the man's right to his wife's labour and the wife's equally important right
241 of unlimited access to the husband's garden land and to its produce. This right extends not only to harvesting food for the household, but also for gifts she may
[578] choose to make outside the household, providing that she manages the food
[586] supply so as to avoid shortages. A domestic dispute I observed in Sivepe (referred to in Chapter III above) illustrates the importance attached to this married woman's right. When this dispute was adjudicated, the 'explanation' of the breakdown of the marriage was found in a single incident, namely the husband's instruction to his wife not to go to his garden again. Here, in the view of everyone present, lay the 'root' of the trouble, a judgement with which the husband was willing to agree. This prohibition to go to his garden is one of the few things a husband is on no account to utter to his wife; it amounts to total repudiation of the conjugal relationship.

[431] This brief discussion of social practices has already indicated that a garden
[462] plot is a gift made by a man to a woman, while the productiveness of the land is a gift from a woman to a man (because a man can neither plant nor harvest). Let us now consider to what extent the nature of these gifts may be clarified in the
423 light of rituals, myths and indigenous explanations. It will be best to begin with
241 some legal ideas about land. As has been pointed out by Salisbury (1962: 67ff.) among others, several sets of rights arise with respect to any one piece of land: rights of the village, of the clan, of the lineage, and of the 'father of the ground' or trustee. It is the last-mentioned person who assigns a piece of land (*enda*) to a cultivator for the purpose of making a garden (*pure*). The cultivator to whom
[562] land may be assigned may be either male or female. Among the Orokaiva it is
[462] common for women to have land assigned to them for cultivation in their own right, even though most land is assigned to males. They receive this land mostly from a father or brother, sometimes from their mother. When a woman wishes to have a garden established on her land, she (voluntarily) transfers the land to her husband or another male on a temporary basis so that he can carry out the
[989] crucial male tasks without which the garden cannot be made. These tasks are ritual as well as productive. It is common for the men of a clan to hold a feast together and to kill a pig from which they eat and obtain strength (*ivo*), before clearing new ground. The fertility of the soil depends greatly on getting a good burn after clearing, and a good burn depends on climatic conditions that can never be wholly predicted. I was unable to find out much about the ritual connected with clearing but gather it had to do with control over the sun and
[775] the rain. Another magical danger that arises in new gardens comes from the ghosts (*sowai*) lurking in the reverted gardens or bush that is being cleared. The garden thus established is the gift made by the man to the woman; the *pure* is

5: Schwimmer E-4,5 (1966-1967) 1973
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household to other households with which the bonds were intimate. Their function was to maintain existing social relationships. Nobody maintained relations of this sort with every household in the village; in the twenty-eight days for which I kept tally, the number of partnerships of individual households varied from three to fourteen out of a total of twenty-two households surveyed. This means that the households with the smallest networks had only three exchange partners during the survey period, out of a possible total of twenty-one, and the households with the largest network still failed to exchange with seven of the available households. The average number of exchange partners for the sample was 8.5. If the survey period had been longer, no doubt this average would have been higher, but even when critical events occurred (there was one death and one important visitor in the survey period) food contributions were not sent by *all* households, nor even by all households belonging to the same clan. Each household had its own private network, partly determined by close consanguineal and affinal ties but partly also by idiosyncratic considerations.

Taro gifts made to establish new relationships were of a different kind. In speaking of a 'new' relationship, I do not mean only those cases where gifts were made to persons hitherto unknown. Such cases were rare indeed. It may be justified, however, to speak of 'new' relationships when the nature of a relationship was changed dramatically, made significantly more intimate, as the result of a ceremony where gifts were made. Such a change would occur when one village invited another to a feast, thus terminating old hostilities and placing the relationship on a new footing. Similarly, a dramatic change in relationship would occur as the result of a wedding ceremony when two kinship groups, whatever their previous relation, would begin to regard each other as affines. On a smaller scale, some relationships are intimate only at the time of actual contact. An example would be guest friendships and trading partnerships. Here the intimacy has to be re-established on every one of the infrequent occasions when one partner visits the other. Even if there has been no conflict whatever, Orokaiva always ritually assume that a long-absent friend has become a stranger and the relationship must be restored. As far as I know, Orokaiva do not carry this notion as far as the Maori, who greet a long-absent friend as though they were still heavily in mourning for his death.

Taro is always given by the hosts when such a 'new' relationship is established. But in such cases the taro is uncooked, and still has the top attached to it. I was told that taro, in that form, still contained a spirit and was 'alive'. The ceremonial way of giving such taro is in the form of a pyramid-like mound, the tubers facing outwards, the tops facing inwards. On the top of the mound, a few taro are placed with the tops facing upwards. The mounds should be built on a *gagu*. It will be noticed that the position of the taro on the *gagu* is precisely the same as the position in which Totoima's son lay ('with his chest turned upwards') when his father attacked him.

If we compare this type of gift with the type considered previously, we notice several reversals of the symbolism:

Householders with affinal and kinship ties to the bride's mother (category 5) received a larger share of the bride-wealth per household than all others except those of category 1. Moreover, the brother of the bride's mother, another close patrilineal relative of the mother and the husband of the bride's mother's sister (with whom the bride had stayed while her father was at the war) were given cash. These three men received comparatively large shares of other components of the bride-wealth. One of the reasons the households of this category received comparatively large shares may have been that the bride's mother's clan (Tandai'undi) from Ajoro village had formerly transferred rights to a substantial area of land to the Andiriha sub-clan in Inonda. The Inonda people are afraid that if the land is reclaimed, a court may uphold the claim and they therefore attempt to remain on friendly terms with Tandai'undi clan and Ajoro village. This appears to be manifested by generosity in their exchange relationships with Ajoro. 583

The bride's sister's husband and his father (category 6) received small shares.

The only man who received a share but who had no genealogical relationship to the bride was a settler on the Girua land settlement scheme where the bride lived (category 7). His inclusion indicates a flexibility in the exchange system wherein residential proximity without historical or genealogical relationship permits the establishment of exchange relationships.

VI

Less than half the cash demanded was paid and villagers considered that the value of other components of the bride-wealth was well below the target set by the bride's father. At the time they said that more cash would be paid when the groom's supporters sold land to the Administration, but by September 1965 no sale had been effected and no further bride-wealth had been paid. The bride's brother regarded the exchange as complete, but said that the bride's group would have demanded full payment if the groom's father had been alive.

The couple express intent to marry in a church but it is doubtful whether this will happen and even if it does, no additional payment will be made. In February 1964 the groom prepared a customary feast known as pene to mark the birth of his first child but this was not part of the bride-wealth. It was shared by the bride's father, brother, and the other household head of the Joremba'embo lineage in Inonda and her mother's brother from Ajoro. [585] [851]

buy cheap cloth and durable iron or aluminium pots at the trade stores. Although every housewife now has two or three large manufactured pots, she keeps them for cooking the food for feasts. Most of the daily meals are still prepared in clay pots but few of these pots were obtained by the old barter methods; most were *obtained as gifts from friends* or relatives. At one wedding, for example, the bride received fourteen clay cooking pots, in addition to a large supply of mats, string bags, enamel plates, and dishes: enough to last for years to come.

ECONOMIC CHANGE AND THE PATTERN OF SETTLEMENT

A very close relationship exists between economic change, particularly the planting of cash crops, and changes in the pattern of settlement. Although most development has occurred in the last twenty years, there is evidence, supported by the oral traditions of Yega elders, to show that some evolution of settlement had occurred even before the first contact with white men. By tradition the Yega were sea people. This probably means that they arrived as migrants and originally spent most of their time aboard their canoes and lived mainly upon seafood. They settled first on three small islands, Baroda Deuga, about half a mile north-east of Waususu Point (Fig. 9). These islands are today only a few feet above high tide and are composed entirely of coarse

[P·12-A]

593 further such lucrative young females. Of the six, two were Sivepe
592 women while the other four were women from other villages residing virilocally. A great many other families did not derive income in this way. Some of these, however, had daughters living in other villages, and their husbands too were sources of institutionalised gifts.

Though Waddell showed that the loss of adult male workers
464 through migration is already serious (37.8% in Sivepe and 25% in
433 Inonda), the point had not been reached when the loss of manpower led to a decline in the production from garden lands. Waddell may, however, be right in ascribing the increasing consumption of the inferior Xantosoma taro (see page 35 above) to the deflection of the adult male labour force which had to support old people whose vigour
887 had declined. The older men did not stop work abruptly at a certain age; they would continue to go to their gardens, but the areas cultivated would become smaller; their children or young affines would help them. If an old man became widowed his daughter or daughter-in-law would cook food for him; in the case of a widow, uncooked food might be given, but most widows tend to live in a house where there are male relatives, the only two exceptions in the sample being the two widows
[463] who stayed in the old village of Sivepe. There are also activities which are a specialty of the old: they tend to be the village artists and also the village sorcerers. When we wanted to buy artifacts, it was the old men who made the ornaments, the old women who made the best pots and painted the best bark-cloth. Similarly, the most active curers in the village were two old men and one old woman.

I saw no evidence of polygamy currently practised. Marriages
595 were always consecrated at the time the couple was baptised. Several
585 people had at one time been divorced, but this was prior to the time
586 of baptism.

In Inonda, as I wrote earlier, no absent husbands sent money home. The only woman at Inonda whose husband was away from the village
464 was in jail, after breaking into a trade store with a hammer belonging to another man from Inonda. On the other hand, one man earned a living as a government driver, thus becoming more or less removed from the work in his subsistence and coffee gardens. Some other men took over his work, in return for appropriate counter gifts and services. In both villages, therefore, a pattern existed of outside earnings derived by a limited number of people whose garden work was taken over by other members of the village labour pool, while the money earnings were in one way or another widely shared among villagers.

Section 2: Division of Labour

The division of labour was the special subject of a study
114 carried out in Sivepe by my predecessor, Mr. Waddell. As he has been
464 A [See Cat. 116--Analyst]